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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BEIJING 06604

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EA PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR HUMMEL

E.O.12065: RDS-1, 5/21/02 (FREEMAN, CHARLES W.) OR-M
TAGS: XR, TH, PEPR, IN, PINT
SUBJECT: SINO-TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS ON A TIBET SETTLEMENT

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. A THREE-MAN TIBETAN DELEGATION REPRESENTING THE DALAI LAMA IS IN BEIJING TO NEGOTIATE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE DALAI LAMA WILL RETURN TO TIBET. THE THREE TIBETAN CONDITIONS ARE: (1) THAT THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION BE ENLARGED TO INCLUDE TIBETAN MINORITY GROUPS IN SICHUAN, QINGHAI AND YUNNAN; (2) THE TIBETANS WILL BE OFFERED SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THE NINE-POINT PROPOSAL MADE TO THE TAIWANESE; AND (3) WHILE UNDER CHINESE SUZERAINITY, TIBET NEVERTHELESS SHOULD BE DEMILITARIZED AND MADE A ZONE OF PEACE. THE CHINESE HAVE AGREED TO DISCUSS THE FIRST POINT BUT, NOT SURPRISINGLY, OBJECT TO THE SECOND AND THIRD POINTS, IN PARTICULAR THE DEMAND FOR DEMILITARIZATION OF TIBET. THE TIBETAN DELEGATION HAS TOLD

[REDACTED] THAT THE CHINESE SEEMED VERY INTERESTED IN REACHING A SETTLEMENT WITH THE DALAI LAMA. THEY GATHERED FROM THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PANCHEN LAMA, OTHER

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TIBETANS IN BEIJING AS WELL AS THEIR CHINESE HOSTS, THAT TAIWAN CONSIDERATIONS ARE THE MAIN REASON FOR THE NEW CHINESE FORTHCOMINGNESS. CHINESE INABILITY TO MANAGE TIBET, THEY SAY, PROVIDES AN ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE FOR A

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SETTLEMENT, AS DOES BEIJING'S DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDIA. THE MONGOLIANS HERE ARE AWARE OF THE VISIT AND WE ASSUME THE SOVIETS ARE AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

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4. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI HAS BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN DEALING WITH THE TIBETANS IN NEW DELHI THROUGH THE OFFICE OF THE DALAI LAMA AND TIBET HOUSE. IN A RECENT MEETING WITH THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVE, A MEMBER OF THE CHINESE EMBASSY STATED THAT CHINA IS NOW READY TO GET INTO THE SPECIFICS OF A SETTLEMENT ON TIBET. CHINA WOULD LIKE THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND. THE CHINESE HAVE ALREADY ADMITTED THEIR PAST MISTAKES DURING THE GANG OF FOUR PERIOD AND ARE NOW PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT.

5. FOLLOWING THESE MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE EMBASSY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] THE DALAI LAMA SENT A THREE-MAN DELEGATION TO CHINA. THE DELEGATION CONFIDENTIAL

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SISTED OF NAMGYAL, THE DALAI LAMA'S CHIEF NEGOTIATOR, WHO HAD BEEN ON TWO OF THE FOUR PREVIOUS FACT-FINDING MISSIONS SENT TO TIBET AT THE INVITATION OF CHINA. THE SECOND MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION IS TAKLA, WHO ALSO HAD BEEN TO TIBET TWICE ON FACT-FINDING MISSIONS, IS THE DALAI LAMA'S BROTHER-IN-LAW, AND SPEAKS BOTH CHINESE AND TIBETAN. THE THIRD MEMBER IS LODHI, AN INTERPRETER.

6. THE DELEGATION ARRIVED IN CHINA ON APRIL 26 BEARING INDIAN IDENTITY CERTIFICATES. THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI HAD PROVIDED A 48-HOUR TRANSIT VISA FOR HONG KONG, AND THE CHINESE EMBASSY HAD GIVEN VISAS ON PLAIN SHEETS OF PAPER. AS SOON AS THE DELEGATION ARRIVED AT THE BORDER CROSSING POINT, THE PAPERS WERE CONFISCATED.

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7. ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 26, THE VICE MINISTER OF THE NATIONALITY AFFAIRS COMMISSION, LI WENRUI, GAVE A DINNER FOR THE DELEGATION. LI SUGGESTED THAT MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE OFFICIALS BEGIN ON THE FOLLOWING DAY. NAMGYAL DEMURRED, REQUESTING INSTEAD THAT THE DELEGATION FIRST MEET PROMINENT TIBETANS LIVING IN BEIJING. MEETINGS WERE ACCORDINGLY ARRANGED WITH THE PANCHEN LAMA, NGAWANG JIGME, CHAIRMAN OF THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION'S (TAR) PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE, AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE NPC, AND PU CHONG. (NOTE: WE ARE UNABLE TO LOCATE INFORMATION ON PU'S BACKGROUND OR POSITION. END NOTE.) THE PANCHEN LAMA SEEMED NOT TOO HAPPY WITH HIS PERSONAL SITUATION OR CONDITIONS IN TIBET, BUT ALSO SEEMED RESIGNED TO HIS FATE. NGAWANG JIGME NOT SURPRISINGLY URGED THAT THE DALAI LAMA NOT BE TOO RIGID IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH BEIJING.

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8. THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE MEETING OCCURRED ON APRIL 29 WITH

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YANG JINGREN, DIRECTOR OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT AND A FORMER VICE PREMIER. (NOTE: THE UF WORK DEPARTMENT HANDLES MINORITY AFFAIRS AND UNITED FRONT WORK. END NOTE.) THE MEETING LASTED FOUR HOURS. YANG BEGAN BY SAYING THAT THE CHINESE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE A DEMAND FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR TIBET. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT CHINA IS KEEN TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM AND HOPES THAT THE DALAI LAMA WILL RETURN TO HIS PEOPLE. THE GANG OF FOUR POLICY HAS CHANGED AND CHINA IS GRADUALLY GIVING TIBET MORE AUTONOMY. CHINA IS READY TO DISCUSS WITH THE DELEGATION AREAS IN WHICH EVEN MORE AUTONOMY IS NEEDED. HE SAID THAT CHINA UNDER THE NEW ARRANGEMENT WOULD NOT INTERFERE AT ALL IN RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS.

9. NAMGYAL BEGAN HIS PRESENTATION BY STATING THAT TIBET HAS ALWAYS BEEN INDEPENDENT OF CHINA, POLITICALLY. HE ALSO STRESSED THAT CULTURALLY AND RACIALLY TIBETANS ARE DISTINCT FROM THE HAN CHINESE. HE THEN STATED THAT, TO REFLECT TIBETAN SINCERITY IN REACHING A SETTLEMENT, HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO THESE FACTS DURING THE REST OF THE MEETING. THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT NOW THAN 30 YEARS AGO AND TO REPEAT OUR INDEPENDENCE DEMAND IS NOT REALISTIC, HE REMARKED. NAMGYAL ASSURED THAT THE DALAI LAMA IS NOT AGAINST PROGRESS AND MODERNIZATION AND THAT HE DOES NOT
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WISH TO RESTORE A FEUDAL SOCIETY.

10. NAMGYAL CONTINUED THAT HIS HOLINESS HAD INSTRUCTED THE DELEGATION TO GIVE THREE CONDITIONS AS THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT THE DELEGATION HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED NOT TO DISCUSS ANYTHING BEYOND THESE THREE CONDITIONS WHILE IN BEIJING, BUT TO BRING BACK THE CHINESE RESPONSE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE DALAI LAMA. NAMGYAL PRESENTED THE CONDITIONS AS:

- THAT THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION BE ENLARGED TO INCLUDE ALL TIBETAN ETHNIC MINORITIES IN SICHUAN, QINGHAI AND YUNNAN;
- THAT THE TIBETANS BE GIVEN SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THE NINE-POINT PROPOSAL GIVEN TO THE TAIWANESE;
- THOUGH TIBET WILL ACCEPT CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY, TIBET SHOULD NEVERTHELESS BE DEMILITARIZED AND MADE A ZONE OF

11. IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST POINT, YANG STATED THAT THE CHINESE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE TAR AND TO MAKE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE HAD NEVER BEEN A "GREATER TIBET" IN HISTORY AND THAT THE ETHNIC TIBETANS IN SICHUAN, QINGHAI AND YUNNAN HAVE ALWAYS LIVED WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF THOSE PROVINCES AND NOT WITHIN TIBET. ON THE SECOND POINT, HE ARGUED THAT TAIWAN IS NOT IN A SITUATION THAT CAN BE COMPARED TO TIBET. TIBET IS A PART OF CHINA. TAIWAN IS CONTROLLED BY THE KMT. NAMGYAL ARGUED THAT THIS IS ALL THE MORE REASON WHY TIBET SHOULD BE GIVEN THE SAME DEGREE OF AUTONOMY SINCE, IF THE CHINESE ARE WILLING TO GRANT THIS

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TO CHINESE ON TAIWAN, THEN THEY SHOULD BE EQUALLY WILLING TO GIVE IT TO THE TIBETAN MINORITY GROUP. REGARDING THE THIRD POINT, YANG CHARACTERIZED IT AS AN "OUTRAGEOUS DEMAND," ASKING "HOW CAN AN AUTONOMOUS REGION DICTATE TO US ON HOW TO DEPLOY OUR ARMED FORCES?" NAMGYAL MAINTAINED THAT CHINA HAS SUPPORTED A ZONE OF PEACE PROPOSAL FOR NEPAL. HE CONTENDED THAT AS LONG AS THERE IS PRESENCE OF HAN TROOPS IN TIBET, THE PEOPLE OF TIBET CAN NEVER FEEL THAT THEY ARE FREE.

12. THE TIBETAN DELEGATION ASKED FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THEIR PROPOSALS WITH EITHER DENG XIAOPING, . . , ZIYANG, HU YAOBANG OR LI XIANNIAN. YANG ANSWERED BY REQUESTING MORE TIME TO STUDY THE DEMANDS AND TO CONSULT WITH CHINESE LEADERS BEFORE ARRANGING THE MEETINGS. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT LI HAD BEEN HOSPITALIZED SINCE THE PREVIOUS WEEK. HU AND DENG WERE VERY BUSY. HE DID NOT MENTION ZHAO ZIYANG. YANG ALSO ASKED THE TIBETANS TO RECONSIDER THEIR DEMANDS SINCE THEY WERE "UNREASONABLE." NAMGYAL ANSWERED THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO DO SO WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DALAI LAMA.

13. FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING WITH YANG, THE TIBETAN DELEGATION WENT OFF TO SHANXI AND HEBEI. THEY DID NOT VISIT TIBET BECAUSE THEY WERE NEGOTIATORS AND NOT A FACT-FINDING MISSION. THE DELEGATION RETURNED ON MAY 14 AND MET AGAIN WITH LI WENRUI. LI URGED THEM TO STAY ON UNTIL THE CHINESE REVIEW OF THE TIBETAN CONDITIONS COULD BE COMPLETED AND A MEETING WITH A TOP CHINESE LEADER ARRANGED.

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AS THE MAIN IMPRESSIONS OF THE TIBETANS GLEANED FROM THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE LEADERS AND WITH TIBETANS IN BEIJING. THE CHINESE ARE VERY ANXIOUS TO SETTLE THE TIBETAN PROBLEM AND FOR THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN TO CHINA. THE PRINCIPAL BASIS FOR THIS POLICY IS "LINKED TO TAIWAN." SETTLEMENT OF THE TIBET ISSUE WOULD UNDERSCORE CHINESE SINCERITY IN WORKING OUT A SETTLEMENT WITH THE KMT. A SECOND REASON FOR THE NEW CHINESE FORTHCOMINGNESS, THE TIBETANS STATED, IS THAT THE CHINESE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO MANAGE TIBET AND "HANS ARE STILL AN OCCUPYING FORCE." THE THIRD REASON RELATES TO SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS, THEY STATED. DURING HIS MEETING WITH THE TIBETAN DELEGATION, YANG SAID THAT CHINESE PROBLEMS WITH INDIA BEGAN WITH TIBET AND INTENSIFIED WITH THE FLEEING OF THE DALAI LAMA. CHINA'S DIFFERENCES WITH INDIA ARE INDEED VERY MINOR, HE CLAIMED.

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EVEN THE BORDER PROBLEM CAN BE WORKED OUT. IF CHINA CAN SOLVE THE TIBETAN PROBLEM, THEN THIS WILL HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON CHINESE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

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15. [REDACTED] THAT THE MONGOLIAN EMBASSY SEEMED AWARE OF THE VISIT BEFORE IT TOOK PLACE. ON THE DAY THE DELEGATION ARRIVED, A SECOND SECRETARY OF THE MONGOLIAN EMBASSY WAS SCUTTLEING AROUND [REDACTED] ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE VISIT. THE

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[REDACTED] ASSUMES THAT THE MONGOLIAN AND THROUGH THEM
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THE SOVIETS, HAVE A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE PURPOSES OF THE TALKS HERE, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT NOT BE AWARE OF THE FULL DETAILS.

16. [REDACTED]

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